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MORAL JUDGMENTS AMONG INDIAN AND WHITE CHILDREN

BY

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Moral Judgments Among Indian And White Children" submitted by Sister Marguerite Laforce in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine moral judgments of Indian and white children and in particular their concepts of justice. The results were compared with Piaget's data on immanent and retributive justice.

The sample consisted of 182 Indian children and 182 white children between the ages of six and twelve in Alberta, Canada.

In order to test their beliefs in immanent and retributive justice, the subjects were presented ten story-situations adapted from Piaget (1932). A rating scale was devised to obtain evaluations of moral traits of eleven and twelve year-old subjects as judged both by their teachers and by their age groups.

The following differences significant at the .05 level between Indian and white children were found:

1. A stronger belief in immanent justice in the six year-old Indian subjects.

2. A stronger belief in retributive justice in the 6-7 year-old white subjects.

Among Indian children, scores in retributive justice were higher at age 11-12 than age 6-7. No such difference was found for the white children.

No significant differences were found between age 6 and 12 in measures of belief in immanent justice.

The data obtained in the present study did not support the following observations made by Piaget:

1. Decrease with age in the belief in immanent justice.

2. Increase with age in retributive justice.

Indian and white subjects manifested similar judgments in their evaluations of moral traits. Both were rated favorably by members of their age groups as well as by their teachers.

This study suggests that the beliefs in immanent and retributive justice of Indian children differ significantly from those of the lower and middle class white children particularly at the age levels of 6-7.

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CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM AND DESIGN

1. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to examine moral judgments, and in particular the concepts of immanent and retributive justice among Indian and white children in central Alberta and to compare the findings with those of Jean Piaget.

Significance of the Problem

The rapid development, in recent years, of cross-disciplinary research on social behavior has focussed attention upon basic theoretical problems in the development of morality. Early researchers in the area of moral development have found it necessary to use the concept of moral attitudes as the basic building block for social psychology. McDougall (1908) believes that the fundamental problem of social psychology is the moralization of the individual by society. Dewey sees education as being a moral and social process related to the larger community in which the child's total experiences occur.

Moral judgments are a matter of continuing interest and concern in contemporary education. Important to moral

judgment is the concept of justice. Ideas of justice are believed to show a systematic development during childhood. In the child's mind, what determines the seriousness of a misdeed? What is just? What is fair? These are relevant questions confronting the educator's understanding of children. If the school is to be an effective socializing agency, it is important that the educator become familiar with the development of moral values of the group with which he deals. Racial factors constitute significant issues in the study of human thought and moral reasoning. Thus moral judgments and their relationship to cultural backgrounds are of vital concern to educators.

11. THEORY ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

One of the outstanding characteristics of modern educational theory is that it considers moral judgments as dynamic rather than static. Moral judgments appear to be relative rather than absolute entities, depending upon the persons and the specific conditions involved. Studies of moral development refer not to transmission of conventional codes alone, but also to the nature and organization of the internal controls and value systems that motivate the individual.

The family and other socializing agents do not simply impose preferred patterns on a passive child. Rather, it

seems that the child's own strivings interact to produce autonomic thinking. Each phase of the child's moralization is initiated by an increased differentiation of the social structure in which he lives. Under the impact of new social experiences, there are certain changes in the motivations, cognitions, and performances of the child. Value judgments are exercised and reasoning becomes more critical, while a process of adjustment and readjustment goes on.

It is argued that moral values are learned in the course of the child's development, and to Eysenck (1960) any theory regarding their development should be based on the known facts of modern learning theory. He postulates that moral judgment is based upon the 'conscience' which he describes as a conditioned response built up during the child's formative years by the pairing of conditioned stimuli, for example aggressive actions, and unconditioned stimuli such as punishment.

Berkowitz (1964) supports this view by maintaining that learning experiences, especially those in which parents and other significant adults have a major role, contribute largely to the exact nature of the child's moral judgment. He believes that the child will learn to make appropriate judgments more quickly if encouraged by adults to examine the various aspects and consequences of diverse moral issues.

Freud's (1936) theory on morality has been enormously influential. He believes that the content of culture is internalized through identification with parents and set up within the child's personality as a socializing and moral agency, the superego. He portrays the individual's superego, or conscience, as an autonomous internalized representation of prohibitions and punishments formerly present in the parents' behavior.

Allport (1955) postulates the insights of moral maturity as growing from the rudimentary ethical attitudes of the child in three stages. First, through identification, external sanctions give way to internal. The second stage occurs when experiences of prohibition, fear and 'must' give way to experiences of self-respect, and 'ought'. This shift, Allport maintains, becomes possible as the self-image and value systems of the individual develop. Lastly, specific habits of obedience give way to generic self-guidance.

Roger Brown (1965) adheres to the belief that the process of morality development is both dynamic and diverse. He compares morality to a grammar, that is, a set of rules for distinguishing what is right and what is wrong. But just as grammars are always in evolution, so are moralities. In a changing society, the process of moral development is subject to modification. Changes, he maintains, are caused

by internal contradictions, the impact of foreign moralities and the creation of new circumstances. The child can only understand what is offered him according to his present intellectual capacities. His understanding of the same principle must at times undergo several modifications as his intelligence matures. Brown sums up his theory by stating that the end of moralization need not be the complete acceptance of adult morality. The moral theory to which an individual adheres as a result of his own personal experiences may cause him to reject certain aspects of the conventional morality of his culture. It would seem, then, that the process of moral development can only be understood if we take into account variations existing in the field of experience surrounding the growing child.

The theories of moral development presented by Jean Piaget also occupy an important place in the literature dealing with the child's socialization. Piaget believes that a child's morality changes as he grows older, from strict moral rules deriving force from parental authority, to more general principles supported by groups of equals. It seems that the young child tends to emphasize the rightness and necessity of strict punishment and the importance of submitting to parental dictates. Later, he appears more concerned with equality among peers and with types of punishment that 'fit the crime'. His judgments

become more flexible.For Piaget, the important factor in the child's moral judgment is the slowly developing sense of solidarity and sympathy with others. For Roger Brown, "the child's sense of justice, as well as his notions of naughtiness, reflect the developmental level of his intelligence" (1965, 243).

Numerous non-Canadian studies have examined the child's moral judgments. However, the concept of justice appears to have remained uninvestigated in Canadian elementary schools. The theories reviewed have presented several viewpoints concerning the child's growing morality, but not his evaluation of moral traits found in members of his own age group. Research concerning these two aspects of moral judgments is needed to provide useful information to Canadian educators.

111. DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Assumptions

It is assumed that the Raven Progressive Matrices is a valid non-language performance test for assessing the intellectual capacity of both Indian and white subjects in this study.

It is also assumed that the ten stories adapted from Piaget (1932) provide an adequate instrument for determining

the subject's preference of expiatory or reciprocal punishment, and also to indicate the presence or absence of belief in immanent justice.

A third assumption is that the Student Rating Scale provides a reliable estimation of moral traits as evaluated by members of the same age group and by their teachers.

Limitations

1. Piaget, in research concerning immanent and retributive justice, does not state the exact number of subjects included in each age group. In comparing results of this study with those of Piaget, statistical analysis is limited to percentages.

2. The pupil's answers are subject to oscillation between expiatory punishment and punishment by reciprocity, due to a possible difference of personal appeal by the various stories.

3. The socio-economic status of the two groups in the sample is not identical. While Indian subjects are representative of the lower class, white subjects comprise both lower and middle class.

Delimitations

1. Pupils who obtained percentile points lower than twenty-five on the Raven Progressive Matrices are not included in the study in order to avoid the possibility of

mental retardation.

2. The Student Rating Scale is restricted to the eleven and twelve year-old subjects on the basis that younger pupils would experience difficulty in supplying fairly accurate and objective responses on this particular instrument.

3. Oral responses, rather than actual behavior performances, form the basis of evaluation of the subject's concepts of justice.

Definitions of Terms

Moral Concept is an idea or mental pattern that may be used as a criterion for discriminating between right and wrong (Good, 1959).

Moral Judgment involves choice among principles, policies, or courses of action and includes some criterion of right action (Good, 1959).

Immanent Justice is the existence of automatic punishments which emanate from things themselves (Piaget, 1932, 250).

Retributive Justice is the correlation between acts and their retribution, that is, between punishment and reward (Piaget, 1932, 197).

Expiatory Punishment is punishment whereby the wrongdoer suffers in a manner which is painful in proportion to the seriousness of the offense but is in no

way related to the offense (Flavell, 293).

Punishment by Reciprocity is punishment which is logically related to the offense, both in content and in nature (Flavell, 293).

Hypotheses

Since there is disagreement among empirical findings concerning Piaget's theories on the child's moral judgments, and in particular his observations concerning immanent and retributive justice, this study advances the following null hypotheses to be tested at the .05 level of significance.

Hypothesis 1

There is no significant difference between the mean scores on immanent justice obtained by six year-old and by twelve year-old Indian children.

Hypothesis 2

There is no significant difference between the mean scores on immanent justice obtained by six year-old and by twelve year-old white children.

Hypothesis 3

There is no significant difference between the mean scores on retributive justice obtained by six year-old and by twelve year-old Indian children.

Hypothesis 4

There is no significant difference between the mean scores on retributive justice obtained by six year-old and by twelve year-old white children.

Hypothesis 5

There is no significant difference between the mean scores on immanent justice obtained by Indian and by white children.

Hypothesis 6

There is no significant difference between the mean scores on retributive justice obtained by Indian and by white children.

Hypothesis 7

There is no significant difference between the percentage of immanent justice responses reported by Piaget for his sample (1932, 251) and that obtained for the Indian sample in this study.

Hypothesis 8

There is no significant difference between the percentage of immanent justice responses reported by Piaget for his sample (1932, 251) and that obtained for the white sample in this study.

Hypothesis 9

There is no significant difference between the percentage of retributive justice responses reported

by Piaget for his sample (1932, 208) and that obtained for the Indian sample in this study.

Hypothesis 10

There is no significant difference between the percentage of retributive justice responses reported by Piaget for his sample (1932, 208) and that obtained for the white sample in this study.

Hypotheses 1 to 6 are tested by the "t" test determining the significance of the difference between two independent proportions. Hypotheses 7 to 10 are tested by means of percentage comparisons .

CHAPTER 11

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

1. PIAGET'S RESEARCH

In his book, The Moral Judgment of the Child (1932), Piaget presents a theory concerning the development of moral judgment. He conducted a clinical investigation including over one hundred subjects, aged six to twelve years, from the poorer parts of Geneva, Switzerland. Piaget presented each subject with a variety of problematical situations, thus examining a number of aspects of the child's developing sense of justice. These included the child's attitude toward rules of the game; the necessity and efficacy of physical punishment; the belief in immanent justice; the notions pertaining to distributive or equalitarian justice. In this study two aspects, those of immanent justice and reciprocity, will receive greater attention.

Piaget studied the child's ideas of just punishment by depicting several situations of juvenile misdeeds and suggesting alternative punishments. The child's choice of an appropriate punishment led Piaget to describe two great principles of punishment. Expiatory punishment, he maintains, stresses the necessity of severity to be adjusted in intensity according to the magnitude of the crime. For

example, the boy who does not help his mother will not be allowed to go to the fair.

> There is no relation between the content of the guilty act and the nature of its punishment...all that matters is that a due proportion should be kept between the suffering inflicted and the gravity of the misdeed (Piaget 1932, 203).

The second principle described by Piaget is that of reciprocity where punishment is related both qualitatively and quantitatively to the crime. For example, the child who pretends to be ill is put to bed.

> ...misdeed and punishment are related both in content and nature, not to speak of the proportion kept between the gravity of the one and the rigour of the other (Piaget 132, 204).

Expiatory measures, according to Piaget, emphasize painful punishment while measures of reciprocity are motivated and aim at making the transgressor realize the significance of his misdeed. Younger children, Piaget noticed, favored expiatory punishment while older children favored reciprocity.

In a similar manner the belief in immanent justice was examined. For each story describing an act of disobedience which was followed by some minor accident, the subject was asked to judge whether or not the accident was a natural consequence of the disobedience. Here again, Piaget found that the younger child manifested stronger belief in immanent justice.

On the basis of his investigation, Piaget concluded that there are two types of moralities in the child. The first type or stage, referred to as "morality of constraint" or "heteronomous morality" exists until the age of seven or eight years. The term heteronomous here signifies subjectivity to another's law. The younger child is subject to the law of authority. During this period adults are viewed as omnipotent, and obedience is automatic without reasoning or judgment. Adult rules are sacred, unchangeable things. Punishment is regarded as a necessary retribution of justice to restore the status quo. It is given in proportion to the misdeed, independent of the motive.

Piaget noted the tendency in children to regard the whole world as aware of their misdeeds, and to feel that they are being seen and watched by objects of the universe. The child's belief in the moral necessity of physical laws which govern the universe is related to his belief that everything in nature is "constructed, intentional, and coherent" (1932, 216). Therefore the child believes in immanent justice, in the existence of automatic punishments which emanate from things themselves. Piaget attributes this belief to adult constraint. Since the child also tends to ascribe omniscience to adults, the commands which he receives from them are regarded as part of the system of laws governing the universe. Children are led to believe that

nature and objects in the physical environment are accomplices of their parents in guaranteeing the infliction of punishment for wrongdoing. Later, through experiences which show that wrongdoing may go unpunished and virtue may go unrewarded, belief in immanent justice diminishes.

The more mature type of morality, which begins about the age of ten, is the stage of "morality of cooperation" or "autonomous morality" (1932, 250). The word autonomous means subject to one's law. Conscience has become more independent and the child evaluates intentions rather than deeds alone. Punishment no longer needs to be "fair" and retributive. Piaget relates the emergence of this stage to the child's increased ability to differentiate between subject and object, to a more rational conception of authority, and thus to his liberation from the thought and will of others. There is seen a gradual unfolding of mutual respect, of group agreement and cooperative action. Moral conceptions become relative rather than absolute, and subject to change by group agreement. Justice becomes a matter of rights and obligations.

Piaget sees three forces interacting to produce developmental change in moral judgment. "We have three processes to consider: the spontaneous and unconscious egocentrism belonging to the individual as such, adult constraint, and cooperation." "...cooperation alone can

shake the child out of its initial state of unconscious egocentrism, whereas constraint acts quite differently and strengthens egocentric features of moral realism until such time as cooperation delivers the child both from egocentrism and from the results of this constraint." (1932, 184).

The interaction of these factors, the changing mind of the child, the amount of adult constraint, and the amount of peer group cooperation and reciprocity, to Piaget, cause developmental differences in systems of responsibility and type of moral judgment used by children of different ages.

Piaget's study was conducted primarily to show that developmental changes occur in moral judgment, and then to determine how the factors of adult constraint, peer group cooperation, and qualitative changes in thought processes interact to produce these changes in moral judgment. Piaget is aware that changes in belief would occur at different times in other segments of society, although the direction of change would probably be the same. Piaget's achievements are considerable, and his findings are not to be ignored, but used as a basis for further investigation.

11. OTHER RESEARCH

A number of investigations have attempted to verify Piaget's findings on other social and ethnical groups, and to identify various factors related to the development of the moral judgment of the child.

Moral Realism and Immanent Justice

In an investigation of moral realism in American children, Lerner (1937) obtained value judgments from 389 children in the first six grades of the public school system of an eastern community. Children from two socio-economic levels of the city were used; one from the upper class and one from the poorer section, primarily of foreign extraction. His findings agree with Piaget's in showing a decrease with age in the number of children expressing a belief in immanent justice. This decrease was more pronounced among those children from the better socio-economic group. Lerner connected the child's developing morality with an increase in ability to see social situations from the viewpoints of others.

Liu (1950) at Columbia University, investigated the influence of cultural background on the moral judgment of children. He attempted to define differences in moral realism responses between Chinese and non-Chinese American

children which could not be accounted for by differences in intelligence and socio-economic status. Liu found a decrease in immanent justice from age six to twelve but at each age level more non-Chinese children revealed a belief in immanent justice. Liu concluded that decreasing moral realism is not due to age maturity alone.

Abel (1941) employed Piaget's technique to study the moral judgments of mentally retarded girls. Comparisons were made between groups in terms of institutionalization, length of institutionalization, and mental age. The subjects were ninety-four subnormal adolescent white girls with chronological ages ranging from fifteen to twenty-one years and mental ages from six through eleven. In comparison between the institutionalized girls and those living in the community it was found that approximately twice as many of the former gave responses which indicated a belief in immanent justice. A greater percentage of those institutionalized over six years expressed a belief in immanent justice as compared with those institutionalized under one year. No difference in response was found between two groups equated for chronological age but differing in mental age.

Dennis (1943) in his work with Hopi Indian children questioned his subjects regarding the belief in immanent justice. Ninety-eight subjects between the ages of twelve and eighteen were examined. Dennis found that sixty-four

per cent of his youngest subjects indicated a belief in the immanence of punishment. This figure decreased markedly with age, standing at forty-seven per cent for the fourteen and fifteen year-olds, and dropping to only nine per cent among the sixteen and seventeen year-olds. These percentage figures were uniformly higher than those found by Lerner (1937) on white children, but were below those obtained by Abel (1941) on institutionalized feeble-minded girls of comparable chronological ages. Dennis concluded that the "earliest ideas of children are uniform in all societies and are the product of universal child experiences and mental maturity" (1943, 35).

Havighurst and co-workers (1955) studied the moral and emotional development of American Indian children. In the overall field project, 902 Indian children from six Indian tribes in the age range from six to eighteen years were studied. Concerning immanent justice, the authors attempted to test Piaget's hypothesis that, in contrast to children in modern cities, children in primitive societies became more, rather than less rigid in their moral ideas as they grow older because these societies exercise an increasing amount of moral constraint on them. Thus, if these societies have a view of the world order which includes a supernatural power that watches over men and rewards and punishes their actions, then belief in immanent justice will

be as strong in older children as it is in younger children, or perhaps even stronger. The findings in this study showed that there was either an increase or no change with age in the children's belief in immanent justice for most of the groups studied. With the exception of one of the Indian groups, the proportion of the twelve to eighteen year-olds indicating a belief in immanent justice was approximately 85 per cent. At the younger ages the proportion believing in immanent justice tended to be smaller. These data seem to substantiate Piaget's theory concerning belief in immanent justice in primitive societies. They do not, however, agree with Dennis' (1943) findings in his study of Hopi children discussed above in which he found a marked decrease with age in belief in immanent justice.

Jahoda (1958) studied immanent justice among West African children in Accra, Ghana. The subjects were one hundred and twenty school children drawn randomly from six schools chosen as being fairly representative of the total primary and middle school population. Half the subjects were boys and half girls. No significant sex differences emerged in any part of the study. A decrease with age in the belief of pure immanence was significant. Jahoda concluded that the existence of beliefs falling broadly under Piaget's heading of "immanent justice" in so called "primitive" societies rest on doubtful assumptions.

MacRae (1950) administered a questionnaire containing moral judgment questions drawn from Piaget's work, and other similar questions, together with a set of questions about the child's social relations, to a group of 244 boys between the ages of five and fourteen. Although in general MacRae found a decrease over the age range in the children's belief in immanent justice, the trend was not consistent. For both stories, a smaller percentage of the five and six year-olds gave responses which were scored as indicating a belief in immanent punishment than did the nine and ten year-olds. MacRae found consistency of response to sets of questions that clearly belonged to the same conceptual type. He found that children who judged the comparitive naughtiness of one pair of actions in terms of intentions rather than consequences were likely to do the same with other pairs of actions.

Moral Judgments

Two studies of moral judgment were conducted by Earl Barnes. The first of Barnes' (1894) studies is entitled "Punishment as Seen By Children". In this study he analyzed two thousand American children's responses to questions asking them to describe just and unjust punishments they had received. The children's ages ranged from seven to sixteen years. Barnes concluded that punishments are usually considered to be just, since they come from adults. Further,

children believe that offenses can be paid for by pain. Barnes concluded that this view decreases with age.

Schallenberger's (1894) study, entitled "A Study Of Children's Rights As Seen by Themselves" involves the analysis of the written responses of over three thousand American children, aged six to sixteen. Her results show that younger children most frequently favored severe punishment. Restitutional punishments were present at all ages, but showed considerable increase with age. At the oldest age level, punishment declined in favor of explanations to be given the culprit. Schallenberger concluded by saying: "Young children judge actions by their results, older children look at the motives that prompt them" (1894, 96).

A second study by Barnes (1902) is largely a replication of Schallenberger's work. Written responses were obtained from 1,047 English school children, aged eight through fourteen, primarily from lower-middle class backgrounds. Barnes' results showed that punitive measures were most often suggested at younger age levels. Expiatory punishment preceded restitutive punishment. Older, but not younger children, said that explanation was sufficient. These three studies mentioned above were done nearly forty years before Piaget's work, but yield essentially the same results as Piaget's research.

Similarly to Piaget's studies, Kohlberg (1963) asked children to judge the morality of conduct described in stories. He posed his problems to approximately 100 American boys between the ages 7 to 17, some of them were middle class, some lower class, and some officially delinquent. Kohlberg described his results in terms of six developmental stages. The first developmental stage is in several respects similar to Piaget's heteronomous morality and the second stage similar to Piaget's autonomous morality. Kohlberg does not, however, find evidence that unilateral respect for authority and mutual respect between peers are the cause of these moralities. He believes that in the last developmental stage the child judges conduct in terms of his own internal standards, in comparitive independence of his immediate social environment. He maintains that the chief motive for behavior is not social, but rather to satisfy one's own conscience to avoid self-condemnation. Kohlberg agrees with Piaget that the successive moralities of the child are not a set of graded lessons taught by adults but result from the child's spontaneous restructuring of his experiences. He differs from Piaget in believing that moral development is long continued and complex, rather than being a single step from heteronomous morality.

Moral Judgments and Social Class

Boehm (1962) and Martin, studied the influence of

social class on children's responses to stories involving moral judgments. The subjects were 102 children aged six to twelve. Fifty-four of the group were of the upper lower socio-economic class; forty-eight were of the upper middle class. The children were of white American-born parents and included only those who had older siblings since previous research conducted by Sears (1957) had found a more strongly developed conscience in only children and oldest children. In addition to the above group, fifty-eight intellectually gifted children were involved in the study. Four stories were presented to each child, designed to measure the effect of social class on conscience formation. The authors of the study found that none of the stories differentiated working class from middle class children at a statistically significant level. When compared with boys, girls showed no superiority of moral evaluations in the development of conscience. When divided into a "below nine year old" and a "nine year old and above" group, significant developmental trends appeared.

Harrower (1934) repeated almost exactly some of Piaget's work to discover whether her results would be identical with, similar, or dissimilar to those obtained from children of a different nationality. Harrower's subjects were from the poorer parts of London, England. For the control group, the children were from distinctly well-to-

do homes and cultured parents. The ages ranged from five to ten years. The procedures were a repetition of Piaget's experiments, where stories were followed by questions demanding a choice of punishment. The findings revealed close similarity between Piaget's children and those of social equivalence in London. But among the control group Harrower found a distribution of answers incompatible to Piaget's scheme. It seemed that the development of the child's sense of justice was influenced by an important environmental factor.

Reciprocity As A Justice Principle

Dolores Durkin, from the University of California, conducted four studies on the child's concept of justice. Durkin's first study (1959) was entitled "Children's Acceptance of Reciprocity as a Justice-Principle". This study was especially designed to examine the "eye for an eye" concept of justice. A secondary purpose of the study was to examine the relationship between a child's level of intelligence and his acceptance of reciprocity. The 101 subjects in this study were all of the second, fifth, and eight grades in a Midwestern community-consolidated school. Findings in this study showed that:

1. Acceptance of reciprocity as a justice-principle, contrary to Piaget's proposal, decreased as the chronological age of the subjects increased.

2. Acceptance of reciprocity did not appear to be related to a child's level of intelligence. This lack of relationship was consistent throughout the different age levels.

Durkin (1959) performed a second investigation regarding children's concept of justice, in particular of justice regarding one's person. It was entitled "Children's Concept of Justice: A Comparison With the Piaget Data". Middle class subjects of three different age groups, seven to thirteen, were questioned about the problem of restoring right order in instances of physical aggression between children. Their responses were examined in order to identify possible developmental trends in kinds of solutions proposed, and, further, to compare such trends with those of Piaget as being basic to the evaluation of a sense of justice in the child. Older children tended to show concern for possible mitigating factors in the situation being judged. This bears out Piaget's findings concerning the emergence of equity with increasing age.

Durkin's third study (1959) "Children's Concept of Justice: A Further Comparison With the Piaget Data" was performed on 119 subjects from a low socio-economic stratum and from grades two, five, eight, and eleven. The subjects were questioned about the just restoration of right order in

instances of physical aggression between children. The findings showed that the oldest of the children, as well as the younger ones, tended to seek justice in the authority person. This does not support Piaget's contention that reciprocity increases with age. The findings also indicated that although not always statistically significant, there was a trend toward no relationship between a child's particular concept of what is just and his level of intelligence.

Durkin's fourth study (1960) "Sex Differences in Children's Concepts of Justice" was designed to examine sex differences in children's concepts of justice. Like the Piaget study, behavioral violations of rights regarding one's person and also of rights regarding one's property and character were depicted in brief story-situations. Boys and girls of lower and middle class back-grounds and of the different grade levels were systematically questioned about them in individual, tape-recorded interviews. Chi square tests were used to analyze the data, and in each of these tests the null hypothesis of no relationship between sex and type of response remained tenable.

Summary

The findings in connection with the child's moral judgments and concepts of justice, while not strictly con-

clusive, are at least suggestive of developmental changes related to chronological age. While some studies substantiate Piaget's idea of a relationship existing between chronological age and justice principles, other research does not support his specific assumption that reciprocity increases with age. Most of the studies examining the belief in immanent justice indicate diverse results, that is, either decrease, no change, or increase in this belief as the child matures.

CHAPTER 111

PROCEDURE

1. THE SAMPLE

The sample was comprised of 364 subjects from grades one to six, aged six to twelve years, representing two cultural groups, the Indian and the white.

The 182 subjects of the Cree tribe were from the Saddle Lake Reserve which is located approximately twenty miles west of St. Paul, Alberta. The reserve is typical of an area where the homes appear unable to supply the children with educational facilities such as television and adequate reading material. The children were friendly and responded readily to the testing procedures. From the elementary school on the reserve itself, seventy subjects from the following age groups were tested:

Age	Subjects
6 years	24
7 years	30
8 years	16

The remaining 112 subjects were also Indian from the Saddle Lake Reserve, but who attended the Blue Quills Residential School. The number of subjects from each age group was as follows:

Age	Subjects
8 years	12
9 years	26
10 years	26
11 years	24
12 years	24

The 182 white subjects were randomly selected from the Vital Grandin Public School, St. Albert, Alberta. The sample was representative of a typical white community including both lower-class and middle-class homes. Here, also, the children were friendly and responded readily to the testing procedures. The following number of subjects were included in each age group:

Age	Subjects
6 years	24
7 years	30
8 years	28
9 years	26
10 years	26
11 years	24
12 years	24

For both Indian and white samples, an approximately equal number of boys and girls were included in each age group. The ages of the pupils were counted as of May 1, 1967.

11. INSTRUMENTATION

The subjects included in this study were representative of two different cultural backgrounds. In order to overcome vitiating factors due to culturally restricted information, a culture fair, non-language test was selected for the measurement of intellectual capacity. It was believed that the Progressive Matrices would provide a valid comparison of the two groups. This test was devised in Great Britain by L.S. Penrose and J.C. Raven and first published in 1938. It was designed as a measure of Spearman's "g" factor. The Coloured Matrices is an abridged form of the test designed for use with young children and old people. Both forms provide an index of the subject's intellectual capacity regardless of nationality or education.

The Stories

In order to ascertain the presence or absence of belief in immanent justice, three stories were adapted from Piaget (1932, 250). Each story depicted a scene where a child suffered a minor misfortune shortly after committing a misdeed. Following each story, a number of questions were devised to elicit from the subject a reason for the wrongdoer's misfortune. A belief in immanent justice was indicated if the subject stated that the misfortune was a punishment occurring as a natural consequence of the misdeed.

The concept of retributive justice was measured by means of seven stories also adapted from Piaget (1932,200-202). These stories again described wrongful actions committed by children and suggested three punishments to be administered to the guilty child. The subject's choice of the most appropriate punishment indicated whether he favored expiatory punishment or punishment by reciprocity. Punishment was considered of the expiatory type if the subject maintained that the punishment must be severe, regardless of its relation to the offense.

STORIES TESTING IMMANENT JUSTICE

Story 1

Two children were stealing apples in a store. A policeman came along and the two children ran away. One of them was caught. The other one, while running away, crossed a large puddle and fell into the water.

Questions

1. Which boy fell into the water?
2. Why did he fall into the water?
3. If he had not stolen the apples, and run across the puddle, would he have fallen into the water?

Story 11

Mother was going to the store. She left a cake on the table and told her little girl not to touch it. While mother was away, the little girl found a sharp knife and tried to cut the cake. But she cut her finger.

Questions

1. What happened?
2. Why?
3. If mother had said that her little girl could have some cake, would she have cut her finger just the same?

Story 111

A little boy played with the sharp scissors one day

when he had been told not to touch them. Then he put them away and went for a walk. He met a bad dog that chased him and tried to bite him.

Questions

1. Why did the dog try to bite the little boy?
2. If the boy had not played with the scissors, would he have met the bad dog just the same?

STORIES TESTING RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE

Story 1

A little boy was playing in the house. His mother asked him to go and get some meat for dinner. But he did not go. Dinner time came and there was not enough meat on the table. The father was not pleased and wondered which would be the best way to punish the boy.

Questions

1. What should father do with the boy?
2. But father did not think of that. He thought of three ways to punish the boy. This is what he thought.
   1) There was going to be a picnic the next day and the little boy wanted to go. Because he did not get the meat, he cannot go to the picnic.
   2) Not let the boy have any meat for dinner.
   3) Not help the boy the next time he asks for help.
3. Which is the best punishment?
4. Which is the most severe?

Story 11

A little boy did not want to do his work in school. So he told the teacher that he was sick. It was not true. The teacher told the boy's father. The father wanted to punish the boy but he could not decide between three punishments.

Questions

1. How should the father punish the boy?
2. But the father did not think of that. This is what he thought.
   1) Make the boy copy a poem fifty times.
   2) Put the boy to bed for one day and give him medicine.
   3) Not believe the boy any more.
3. Which is the best punishment?
4. Which is the most severe?

Story 111

Father told his boy not to play ball in the house. But the boy played just the same and broke a window. Father thought of three punishments.

1) Leave the window broken for many days and the boy will be cold.
2) Make the boy pay for the broken window.
3) Take away his toys for a whole week.

Questions

1. Which is the best punishment? Why?
2. Which is the most severe?

Story 1V

A girl has broken a toy belonging to her little sister.

Questions

1. What should mother do with her?

This is what mother thought she might do.

1) Make the girl give one of her own toys to the little sister.

2) Pay to have the broken toy mended.

3) Take away her toys for a whole week.

2. Which is the best punishment?

3. Which is the most severe?

Story V

The teacher told the children not to play ball in the school. One boy played ball just the same and knocked down a plant.

Questions

1. How should the boy be punished?

2. Which one of these three punishments would be the best?

1) Go to the woods and find a new plant and plant it himself.

2) Being spanked.

3) Having all his toys broken on purpose.

3. Which is the most severe punishment?

Story Vl

A girl was looking at a precious picture belonging to her mother. She was not careful and made spots all over it.

Questions

1. What should mother do?
2. Which is the best punishment?
   1) Not being allowed to go to the show.
   2) Not taking care of the girl's own book when mother looks at it the next day.
   3) No longer let the girl look at the picture.
3. Which is the most severe punishment?

Story V11

The leader of a band of robbers died. Two boys, Charles and Bob, both wanted to become the new leader. Charles was elected. Bob was angry and wrote a letter to the police, telling where Charles could be found. Charles was caught. The other robbers wanted to punish Bob.

Questions

1. Which one of these three punishments would be the best?
   1) Not give him any money for a whole month.
   2) Turn him out of the band.
   3) Write a letter to the police about him.
2. Which is the most severe punishment?

Student Rating Scale

A thirty item rating scale which was constructed by the investigator was partly modelled on Osgood's Semantic Differential which was a quantified procedure for measuring the connotations of any given concept for the individual. It has already been employed in considerable research which has contributed to its construct validation. The Student Rating Scale was devised in order to examine the students' moral traits as judged both by their age groups and by their teachers. Each moral trait was rated on a seven point graphic scale as being more closely related to one or the other of a pair of opposite adjectives, such as good - bad.

STUDENT RATING SCALE

Instructions to Students

The purpose of this scale is to find out what you think of your age group as a whole. There is no time limit but try to work quickly. Do not look back over your work, thus making of each item a separate, independent judgment. It is your first impression that is wanted.

Instructions to Teachers

The purpose of this scale is to find out what you think of your students as a group. Evaluate your eleven and twelve year-old students as you see them as a group. It is your first impression that is wanted.

1. Cruel	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Kind
2. Deceitful	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Sincere
3. Distrustful	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Trustful
4. Unforgiving	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Forgiving
5. Hard-hearted	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Soft-hearted
6. Dishonest	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Honest
7. Hostile	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Friendly
8. Intolerant	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Tolerant
9. Prejudiced	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Sympathetic
10. Quarrelsome	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Peaceful
11. Rebellious	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Submissive
12. Unreliable	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Reliable

13. Hateful	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Amiable
14. Unkind	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Kind
15. Cowardly	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Courageous
16. Stingy	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Generous
17. False	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Sincere
18. Rigid	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Lenient
19. Rude	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Mannerly
20. Self-punishing	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Self-rewarding
21. Severe	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Lax
22. Sly	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Frank
23. Stern	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Gentle
24. Suspicious	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Confiding
25. Untruthful	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Truthful
26. Rough	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Gentle
27. Unjust	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Just
28. Bad	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Good
29. Evil-minded	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Fair-minded
30. Unfair	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Fair

111. TESTING PROCEDURES AND METHODS OF SCORING

The Raven Progressive Matrices

To all subjects aged six to ten years, the investigator administered the Coloured Progressive Matrices. The six year-old subjects were tested in small groups of four or five. This precaution was taken in order to allow the examiner a better opportunity to supervise the young pupils' work. A few six year-old Indian pupils who manifested difficulty in entering the answers in the proper location on the answer sheets were tested individually.

To the subjects seven to ten years of age, the test was administered in groups of approximately thirty.

The Standard Progressive Matrices was administered to the eleven and twelve year old subjects in groups of approximately thirty.

All students were handed a test booklet along with an answer sheet and were given a preliminary explanation in accordance with the directions in the test manual. No time limit was set. Each subject worked at his own speed without interruption from the beginning to the end of the scale.

Method of Scoring

One point was given for each correct answer. From

the subject's total score, percentile points were calculated according to the norms of each particular test.

Stories Testing Immanent Justice

Each subject was interviewed individually by the investigator. A positive relationship was established with each child before the stories were related. After each story the subject was often asked to tell the story in his own words to insure his comprehension of the situation. There followed several questions by the examiner. What happened? Why? If the child in the story had not disobeyed, would he have fallen into the water or cut himself? Why?

Method of Scoring

The subject's responses were immediately recorded as positive or negative by the examiner. Answer sheets indicated the individual's school attended, age, and response for each story, making a total of three possible answers. For classifying the responses as positive or negative, the criterion set by Piaget was used:

> Responses will be considered to affirm the existence of immanent justice where the subject maintained that if the child in the story had not stolen or disobeyed, he would not have fallen into the water or cut himself (1932, 251).

Testing Retributive Justice

Each subject was again interviewed individually by

the investigator. Care was taken to guarantee the comprehension of each story and the subject was allowed to discuss it freely. He was then presented a choice of three punishments and requested to choose the best punishment, that is, the one he considered most fair. Several questions again followed, such as: Why? Which is the most severe punishment? Care was also taken to make sure that the subject understood the meaning of such words as "fair" "severe" "just".

Method of Scoring

The responses were immediately recorded by the examiner. The individual's record sheet indicated school attended, age, type of punishments suggested and the subject's choices. The punishment described as the most severe was carefully checked. Each answer sheet recorded a total of seven possible answers. Piaget's criterion was used for classifying the responses according to expiatory or reciprocal punishment, thus examining the child's reasoning underlying his choice.

> A child will often explain that he has selected a given punishment because it was the most severe, although actually his choice seemed to be based on quite different principles. In such cases the punishment in question is clearly still of the expiatory type (Piaget 1932, 204).

For controlling this vitiating factor of doubt, after each story the following question was asked: "Which is the

most severe punishment?"

Student Rating Scale

This scale was administered to the eleven and twelve year-old subjects in groups of twenty. Papers were to remain anonymous. No time limit was set, although the subjects were urged to work quickly, giving their first, but true, impression of their peers as a group.

Preliminary instructions oriented the subjects as to the completion of the task. They were directed to mark the adjectives as "very closely related" or "only quite closely related" or "only slightly related" to one side as opposed to the other side of the scale. An example was demonstrated on the blackboard. Each pair of adjectives was discussed with the group and defined when deemed necessary.

The teachers of the subjects involved in this project were also asked to complete the scale concerning their students as a group.

Method of Scoring

The scales from both age groups were combined for scoring purposes, thus producing only two groups for comparison, the Indian and the white.

Similarly, the two age groups evaluated by teachers were combined to produce two bases of comparison: the teachers' rating as compared to the white students' rating, and again the teachers' rating as compared to the Indian students' rating.

In each group the median score was found for each item. Pooled judgments of each group were plotted on a graph.

CHAPTER 1V

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

1. TREATMENT OF DATA

Immanent and Retributive Justice

For both immanent and retributive justice percentages were calculated from the total number of responses for each age group of Indian and white subjects.

Similarly, mean scores were calculated from the total number of positive responses for each group. Percentages and mean scores for both groups are indicated in tables X111 and X1V concerning belief in immanent justice. Tables XV and XV1 indicate percentages and mean scores for retributive justice.

On the I.B.M. 7040 the following formula was computed in order to determine the significance of the difference between the mean scores on immanent and retributive justice responses obtained by Indian and by white children.

$$z = \frac{P_1 - P_2}{S_{P_1 - P_2}} = \frac{P_1 - P_2}{\sqrt{pq[(1/N_I) + (1/N_2)]}}$$

where z was interpreted as a deviate of the unit normal

curve and where $q = 1 - p$. The value of p was obtained by adding together the frequencies of occurrence in the two samples and then dividing this by the total number in the two samples. Thus

$$p = \frac{f_1 + f_2}{N_1 + N_2}$$

(Ferguson 1959, 147).

Using the obtained value of z, the level of significance of the difference between proportions was then calculated from the Table of Areas of the Normal Curve (Ferguson 1959, 306).

11. TESTING THE NULL HYPOTHESES 1-V1

The following null hypotheses were to be accepted or rejected on the basis of a .05 level of significance indicating the difference between two independent proportions.

<u>Hypothesis 1</u>

There is no significant difference between the mean scores on immanent justice obtained by six year-old and by twelve year-old Indian children.

TABLE 1

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE AND BELIEF IN IMMANENT JUSTICE WITH INDIAN CHILDREN

Age	Value of z	Significance P*
6 compared to 7-8	.087	.93**
6 compared to 9-10	.171	.86**
6 compared to 11-12	.347	.73**
7-8 compared to 9-10	.110	.91**
7-8 compared to 11-12	.679	.58**
9-10 compared to 11-12	.643	.52**

* Two-tailed test
** Non-significant

As reported in Table 1, no significant difference at the .05 level was found between age and belief in immanent justice with Indian children. Hypothesis I was therefore accepted.

Hypothesis 2

There is no significant difference between the mean scores on immanent justice obtained by six year-old and by twelve year-old white children.

TABLE II

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE AND BELIEF IN IMMANENT JUSTICE WITH WHITE CHILDREN

Age	Value of z	Significance P*
6 compared to 7-8	.247	.80**
6 compared to 9-10	.410	.68**
6 compared to 11-12	.972	.33**
7-8 compared to 9-10	.211	.83**
7-8 compared to 11-12	.93	.35**
9-10 compared to 11-12	.718	.47**

* Two-tailed test
** Non-significant

As reported in Table II, no significant difference at the .05 level was found between age and belief in immanent justice with white children. Hypothesis 2 was therefore accepted.

Hypothesis 3

There is no significant difference between the mean scores on retributive justice obtained by six year-old and by twelve year-old Indian children.

TABLE 111

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE AND RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE WITH INDIAN CHILDREN

Age	Value of z	Significance P*
6-7 compared to 8-10	1.935	.05
6-7 compared to 11-12	2.533	.01
8-10 compared to 11-12	.906	.36**

* Two-tailed test
** Non-significant

As reported in Table 111, a significant difference at the .05 level was found between the ages 6-7 and 8-10. A more significant difference at the .01 level was found between the ages 6-7 and 11-12. On the basis of these findings hypothesis 3 was rejected.

Hypothesis 4

There is no significant difference between the mean scores on retributive justice obtained by six year-old and by twelve year-old white children.

TABLE IV

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE AND RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE WITH WHITE CHILDREN

Age	Value of z	Significance P*
6-7 compared to 8-10	.120	.90**
6-7 compared to 11-12	.423	.67**
8-10 compared to 11-12	.344	.73**

* Two-tailed test
** Non-significant

As reported in Table 1V, no significant difference at the .05 level was found between age and retributive justice with white children. Hypothesis 4 was therefore accepted.

Hypothesis 5

There is no significant difference between the mean scores on immanent justice obtained by Indian and by white children.

TABLE V

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN INDIAN AND WHITE CHILDREN'S CONCEPT OF IMMANENT JUSTICE

Age	Value of z	Significance P*
6	1.195	.05
7-8	1.424	.16**
9-10	1.057	.30**
11-12	.933	.35**

* Two-tailed test
** Non-significant

As reported in Table V, a significant difference at the .05 level was found in immanent justice between six year-old Indian and white children. On the basis of this difference Hypothesis 5 was rejected.

Hypothesis 6

There is no significant difference between the mean scores on retributive justice obtained by Indian and by white children.

TABLE VI

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN INDIAN AND WHITE CHILDREN'S CONCEPT OF RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE

Age	Value of z	Significance P*
6-7	2.509	.01
8-10	.786	.43**
11-12	.514	.81**

* Two-tailed test
** Non-significant

As reported in Table V1, a significant difference at the .01 level was found in retributive justice between 6-7 year-old Indian and white children. On the basis of this difference, hypothesis 6 was rejected.

111. COMPARISON OF RESULTS WITH PIAGET'S DATA AND TESTING HYPOTHESES V11 - X

As stated earlier, Piaget presented the results of his studies concerning immanent and retributive justice in the form of percentages. Likewise, for purposes of comparison, percentages were found for each age group, Indian and white, included in this study. Table V11 indicates the percentages of total responses concerning immanent justice for the three samples, Piaget's, Indian, and white. The material from table V11 is represented graphically in figure 1. Table V111 indicates the percentages for the same three samples concerning retributive justice. The material from table V111 is represented in figure 2.

Because Piaget did not reveal the exact number of subjects included in each age group, the statistical formula used previously for determining the level of significance between two proportions could not be used here. However, comparisons of Indian and white samples have already been made and tested statistically. Hypotheses 3 and 5 have been rejected on the basis of a .05 level of significance found when a difference of seventeen per cent existed in the results between two independent proportions. A significant difference of .01 was found when a percentage difference of twenty-four existed between two independent proportions (hypotheses

3 and 6). On the basis of these results, hypotheses 7 to 10 will be rejected if a difference of seventeen per cent exists between two groups, thus revealing an assumed significance at the .05 level.

TABLE VII

PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL RESPONSES FOR IMMANENT JUSTICE

Age	Indian	White	Piaget's
6	67	50	86
7-8	66	53	73
9-10	65	55	54
11-12	71	62	34

TABLE VIII

PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL RESPONSES FOR RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE

Age	Indian	White	Piaget's
6-7	43	67	28
8-10	60	66	49
11-12	68	63	82

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES FROM TOTAL RESPONSES

INDICATING BELIEF IN IMMANENT JUSTICE

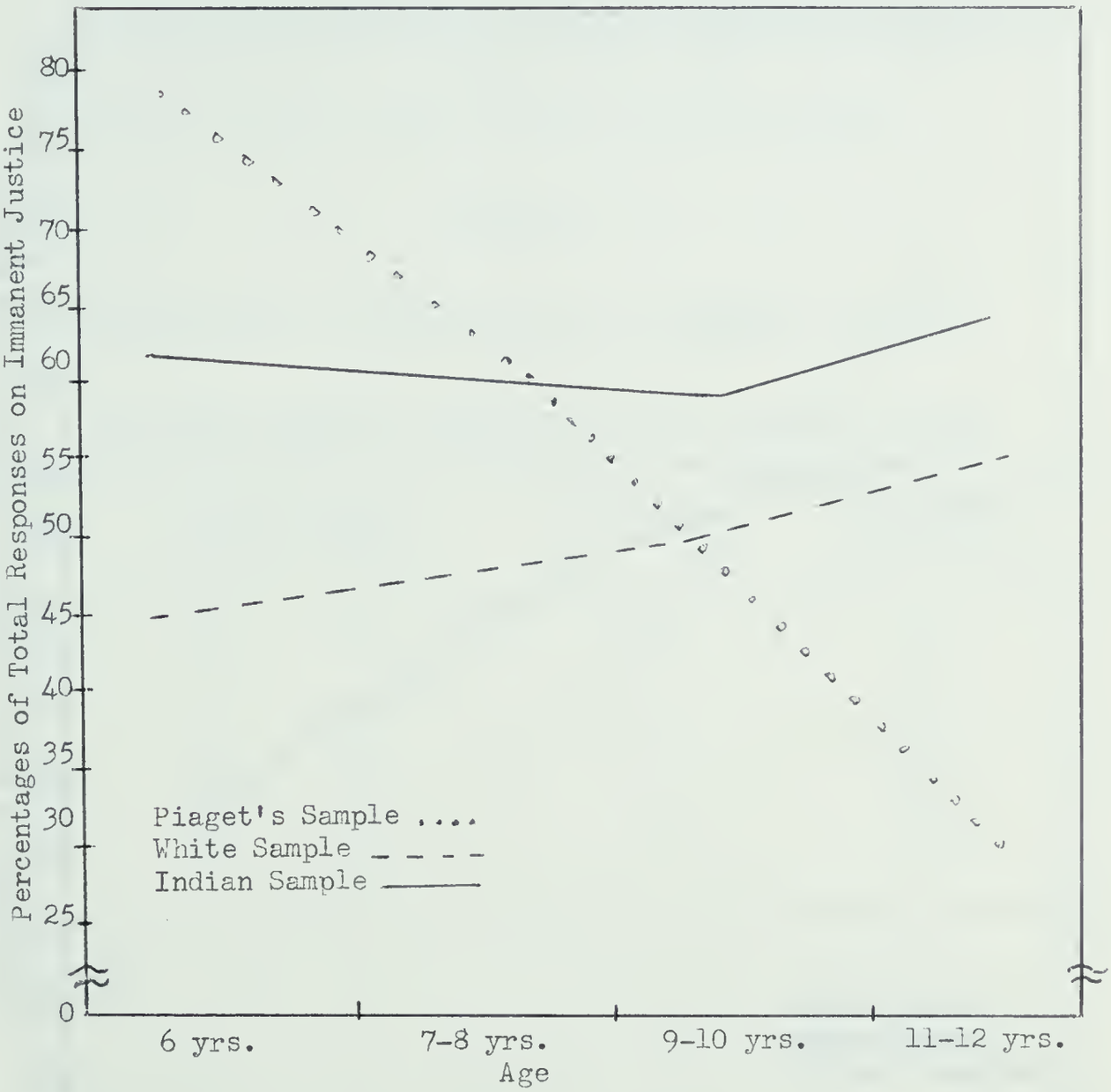

Figure 1

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES FROM TOTAL RESPONSES

INDICATING BELIEF IN RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE

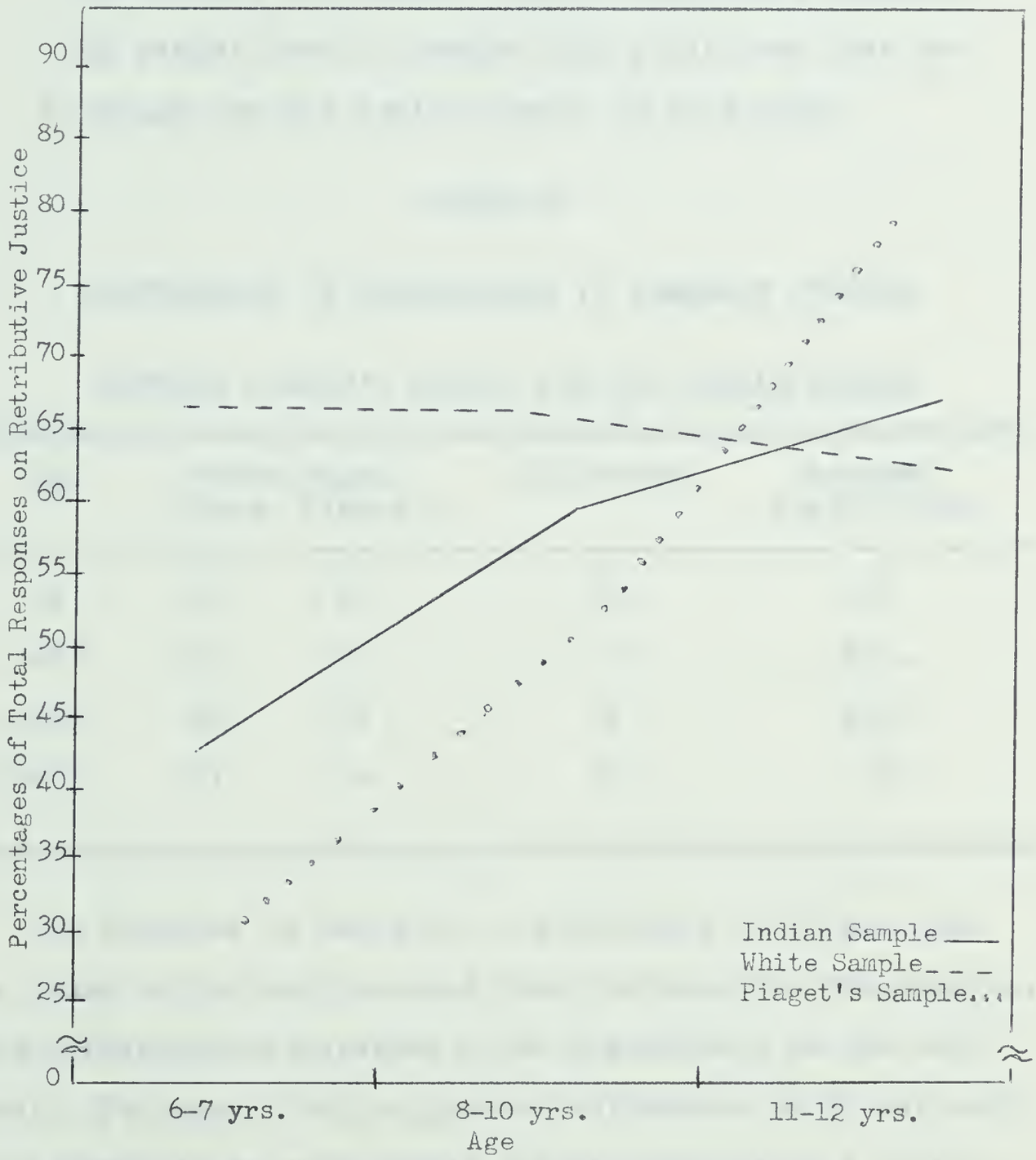

Figure 2

Hypothesis 7

There is no significant difference between the percentage of immanent justice responses reported by Piaget for his sample (1932, 251) and that obtained for the Indian sample in this study.

TABLE IX

DIFFERENCES IN PERCENTAGES IN IMMANENT JUSTICE BETWEEN PIAGET'S SAMPLE AND THE INDIAN SAMPLE

Age	Percentages Indian	Percentages Piaget's	Difference	Assumed Significance
6	67	86	19	.05
7-8	66	73	7	N.S.
9-10	65	54	11	N.S.
11-12	71	34	37	.01

As reported in Table IX, a difference of 19 per cent was found at the six year-old level between the two samples. This difference was assumed to be significant at the .05 level. For ages 11-12, a greater difference of 37 per cent was assumed to be more highly significant, since a difference of 24 per cent previously manifested a significant difference at the .01 level. On the basis of the differences found, hypothesis 7 was rejected.

Hypothesis 8

There is no significant difference between the percentage of immanent justice responses reported by Piaget for his sample (1932, 251) and that obtained for the white sample in this study.

TABLE X

DIFFERENCES IN PERCENTAGES IN IMMANENT JUSTICE BETWEEN PIAGET'S SAMPLE AND THE WHITE SAMPLE

Age	Percentages Indian	Percentages Piaget's	Difference	Assumed Significance
6	50	86	36	.01
7-8	53	73	20	.05
9-10	55	54	1	N.S.
11-12	62	34	28	.01

As reported in Table X, a difference of 36 per cent was found between the two samples at the age of six, a difference of 23 per cent at the ages of 7-8, and a difference of 28 per cent at the ages of 11-12. On the basis of these differences, hypothesis 8 was rejected.

Hypothesis 9

There is no significant difference between the

percentage of retributive justice responses reported by Piaget for his sample (1932, 208) and that obtained for the Indian sample in this study.

TABLE XI

DIFFERENCES IN PERCENTAGES IN RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE BETWEEN PIAGET'S SAMPLE AND THE INDIAN SAMPLE

Age	Percentages Indian	Percentages Piaget's	Difference	Assumed Significance
6-7	43	28	15	N.S.
8-10	60	49	11	N.S.
11-12	68	82	14	N.S.

As reported in Table XI, no percentage difference of 17 was found between the two samples. Hypothesis 9 was therefore accepted.

Hypothesis 10

There is no significant difference between the percentage of retributive justice responses reported by Piaget for his sample (1932, 208) and that obtained for this study.

TABLE XII

DIFFERENCES IN PERCENTAGES IN RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE

BETWEEN PIAGET'S SAMPLE AND THE WHITE SAMPLE

Age	Percentages White	Percentages Piaget's	Difference	Assumed Significance
6-7	67	28	39	.01
8-10	66	49	17	.05
11-12	63	82	19	.05

As reported in Table X11, a difference of 39 per cent was found between the two samples at the ages of 7-8, a difference of 17 at the ages of 8-10, and a difference of 19 at the ages of 11-12. On the basis of these findings, hypothesis 10 was rejected.

IV. COMPARISON OF RESULTS

FROM THE STUDENT RATING SCALE

The purpose of this scale was to provide an evaluation of the subjects' moral traits as seen and judged by their age groups as well as by their teachers. Each pair of adjectives was rated on a seven-point scale. Median scores were found for each item for each group (Tables XX and XXI). A total of three pairs of ratings was obtained. Indian

students' ratings were compared to white students' ratings. White students' ratings were compared to their teachers' ratings. Indian students' ratings were compared to their teachers' ratings. Each pair of ratings was plotted on a scale, indicating similarity or difference of pooled judgments. A difference was considered noteworthy when the ratings of an item differed by two or more points on the seven-point graphic scale.

SELF-RATINGS BY INDIAN AND WHITE STUDENTS

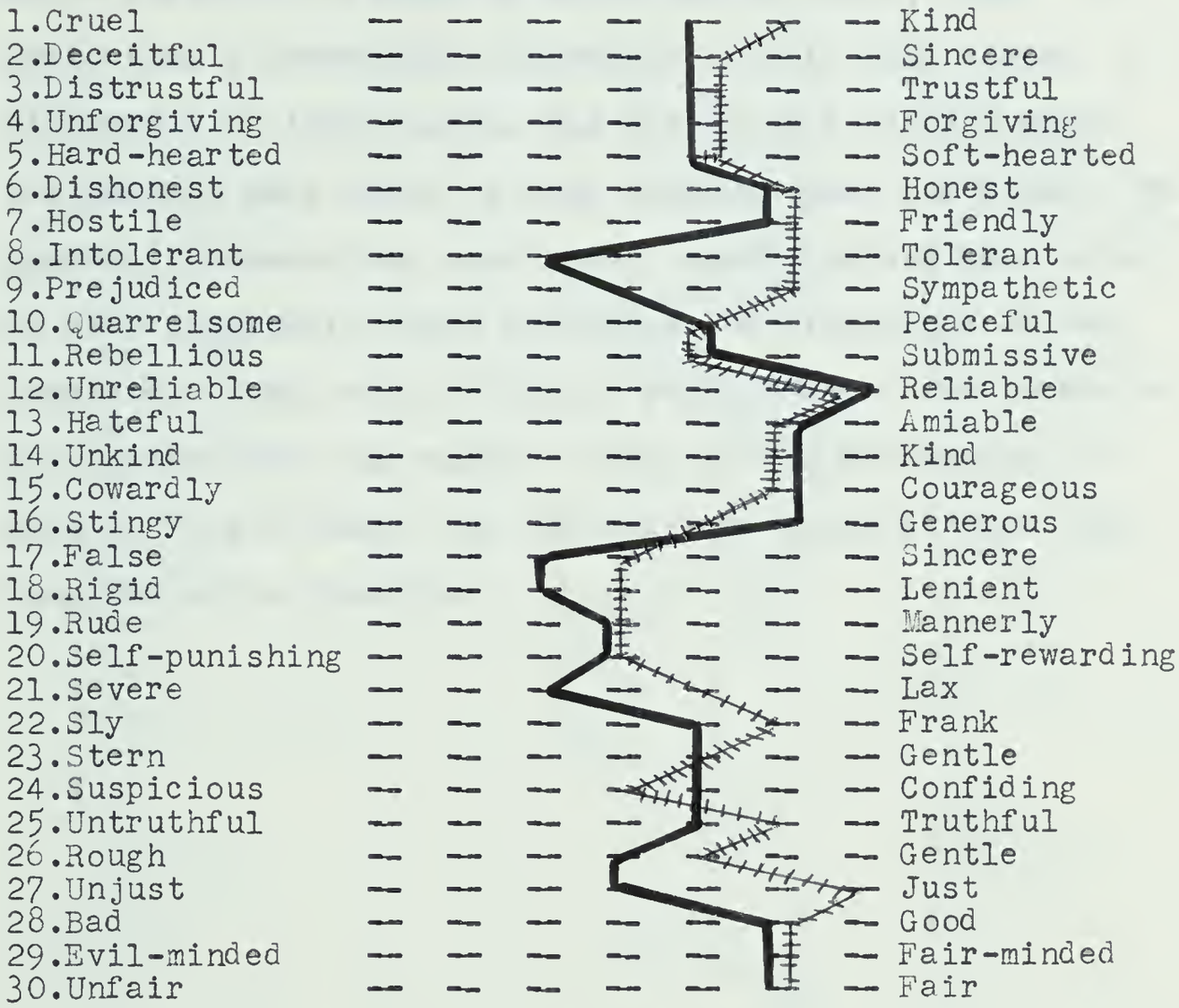

Figure 3

Median Responses from two groups of 40 subjects each.

++++ Indian students' self-ratings
—— White students' self-ratings

Figure 3 revealed close similarity between Indian and white subjects' ratings on 26 of the 30 items, thus indicating a noteworthy difference on only four items. A difference of three points was indicated in item 8 where the Indians were rated as more tolerant than the white. Two points difference was seen item 9 where Indians were rated as more sympathetic than the white. A difference of two points was also seen in item 21 where Indians were rated as less severe than the white. Three points difference was seen in item 27 where the Indians were rated as more just than the white students.

WHITE STUDENTS AS RATED BY THEIR AGE GROUP

AND BY THEIR TEACHERS

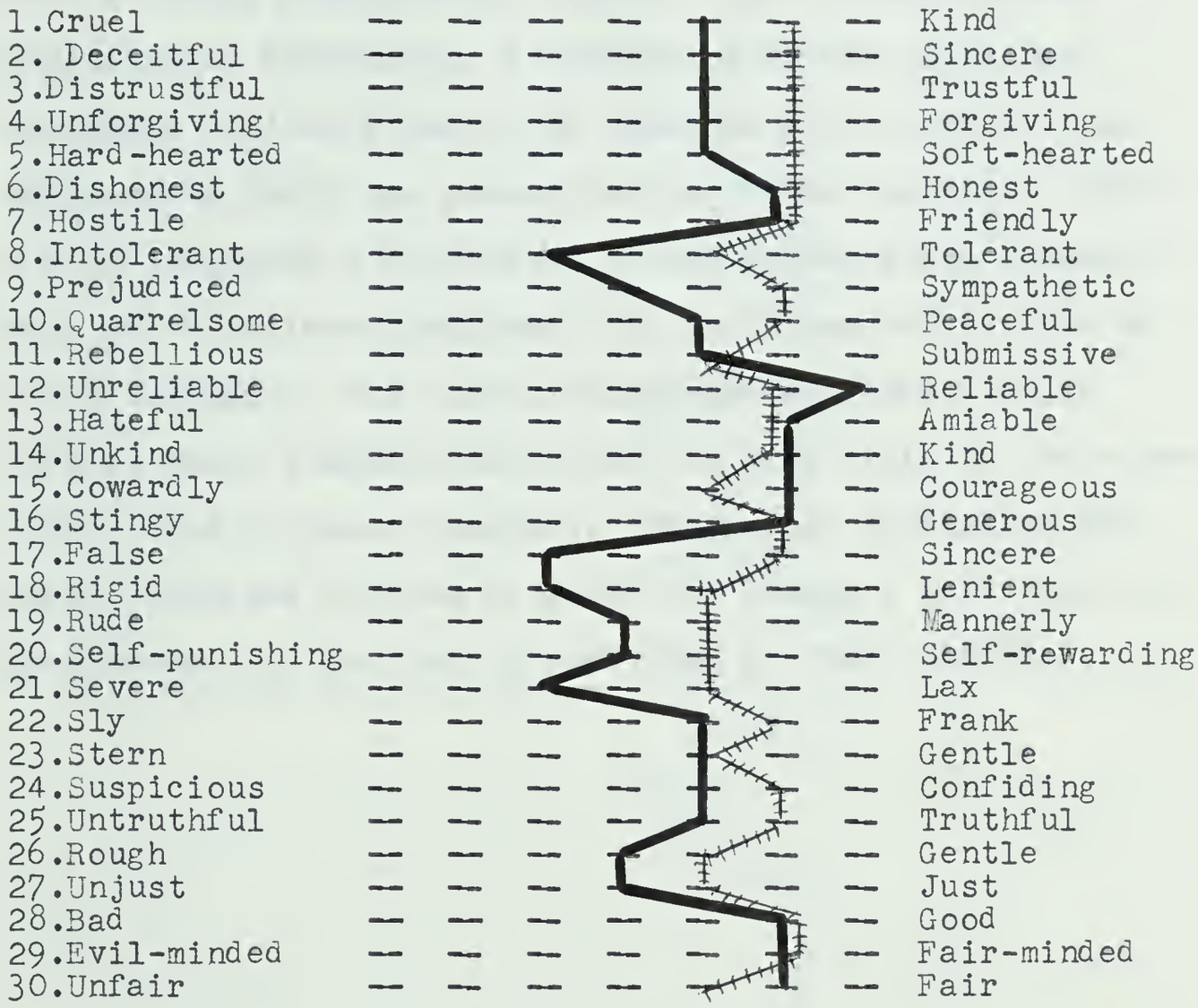

Figure 4

Median Responses From Teachers and White Students

++++ Teachers' ratings of white students
▬▬ White students' self-ratings

Figure 4 also revealed similarity between white students' and teachers' ratings, although the latter were seen as being consistently higher. Five items appeared particularly different. A difference of two points was indicated in item 8 where the students were rated as less tolerant by their age groups than by their teachers. Item 9 also indicated a difference of two points where students were rated as less sympathetic by their age groups than by their teachers. Two points difference was indicated in item 18 where students were rated as more rigid by their age groups than by their teachers. Two points difference was again indicated in item 21 where the students were rated as more severe by their age groups than by their teachers.

INDIAN STUDENTS AS RATED BY THEIR AGE GROUP

AND BY THEIR TEACHERS

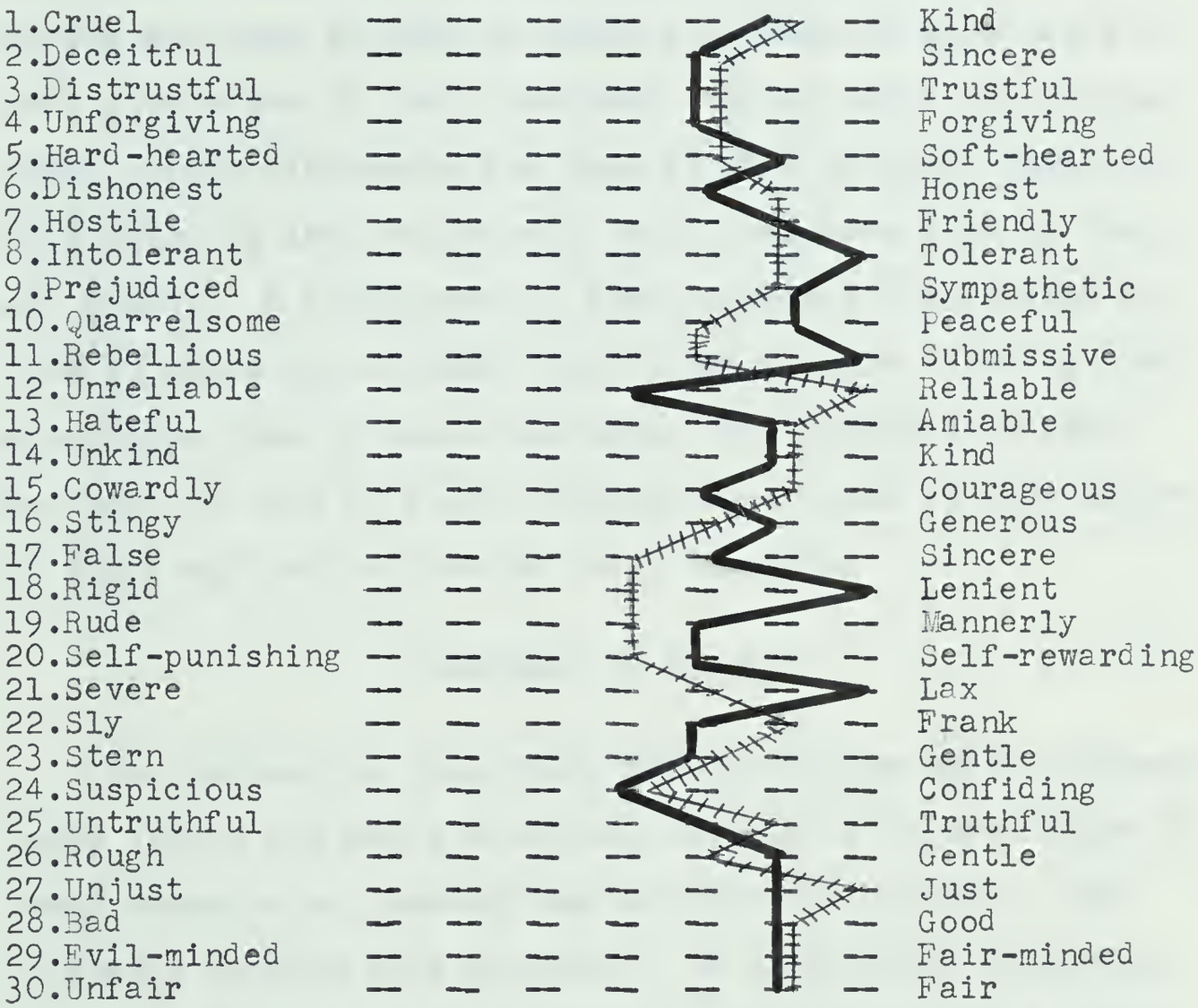

Figure 5

Median Responses From Teachers and Indian Students

Teachers' ratings of Indian Students
Indian students' self-ratings

Figure 5 again revealed close similarity between ratings of Indian students and their teachers. Only four items appeared particularly different. A difference of two points was seen in item 11 where the students were rated as more submissive by their teachers than by their age groups. Three points difference was seen in item 12 where students were rated as less reliable by their teachers than by their age groups. A difference of three points was seen also in item 18 where the students were rated as more rigid by their age groups than by their teachers. Two points difference was seen in item 21 where students were rated as more severe by their age groups than by their teachers.

V. SUMMARY OF RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to examine moral judgments among Indian and white children, especially as manifested by their concepts of immanent and retributive justice. The following results were revealed. No significant difference was found between age and belief in immanent justice either with white or Indian subjects. Similarly, no significant difference was found between age and reciprocity with white children. Reciprocity with Indian children, however, revealed a significant difference at the .05 level between the ages 6-7 and 8-10. At the .01 level, a difference was found between the ages 6-7 and 11-12. A significant difference at the .05 level was found between Indian and white

subjects' belief in immanent justice at the age of six. Again at the age of six, a significant difference at the .01 level was found between Indian and white subjects' belief in retributive justice.

A secondary purpose of the study was to compare its findings with Piaget's research concerning immanent and retributive justice. The following results were revealed. Concerning belief in immanent justice between Piaget's and the Indian sample, a percentage difference of 19 was found at age 6 and a percentage difference of 37 at ages 11-12. Likewise, in comparing Piaget's sample with the white sample, percentage differences of 36, 20, and 28 were found for ages 6, 7-8, and 11-12 respectively. These differences were considered significant. Concerning retributive justice, no significant difference was found between Piaget's sample and the Indian sample. However, with the white sample, percentage differences of 39, 17, and 19 were found for ages 6-7, 8-10, and 11-12 respectively. These differences were also considered significant.

Moral traits were also examined. It was seen that Indian students were considered by their age groups as being more tolerant, sympathetic and just, but less severe than white students. Median scores of the teachers' ratings of white students were consistently higher than the students'

own ratings. By their teachers, the white students were considered more tolerant, sympathetic and sincere, but less rigid and severe than by their age groups. For the majority of items, teachers also rated their Indian students either the same or higher than they rated themselves. Indian students were seen by their teachers as being more submissive, but less reliable, rigid and severe than by their age groups. On all three pairs of ratings, both Indian and white students were evaluated favorably, with median scores closer to the positive than to the negative aspect of the moral traits.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

1. DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Findings in this study, in agreement with most of the related literature, appear to confirm the idea that moral development does not follow clear-cut paths or developmental stages in strict accordance with chronological age.

Developmental changes, however, do appear to exist. Piaget suggested changes occurring at approximate ages but he also affirmed the possibility of variations according to environmental conditions such as socio-economic and racial factors.

The central purpose of this study was to compare the Indian child's moral concepts, and in particular his ideas concerning justice to those of the white child and to determine the relationship of these concepts with chronological age. It had been hypothesized that no significant difference would exist between the two cultures. It was also hypothesized that no significant relationship would exist between age and justice concepts.

Although results indicated lower percentages for the white subjects' belief in immanent justice for each age group, a significant difference was found only between the

two six year old samples. The Indian child seemed to express a stronger feeling that wrongdoings must be punished and that nature itself can often accomplish this task. Piaget's results revealed an 86 per cent belief in immanent justice at the six year-old level, with a significant drop to 34 per cent at the eleven and twelve year-old level. Contrary to Piaget's findings, there was a slight nonsignificant increase in this belief from age six to twelve with both Indian and white samples. The older children appeared to affirm with stronger certainty that punishment was a natural, inevitable consequence that normally followed misdeeds. They manifested the belief that punishments were necessary for effective order and discipline in everyday life. While only 34 per cent of Piaget's eleven and twelve year-olds believed in immanent justice, 71 per cent of the Indian sample and 62 per cent of the white sample expressed that belief. It is somewhat more difficult to account for this higher percentage among a population of white middle class subjects than it is for an Indian population of lower economic status. Piaget had hypothesized that in more primitive cultures, such a belief would either remain the same or increase. It would appear, according to the results of this study, that socio-economic conditions had little significant bearing upon the child's concept of immanent justice, except at the age of six. The difference found at that particular age level may

perhaps be safely assumed to result more from cultural differences than from socio-economic conditions.

Results of the study concerning retributive justice indicated a significant difference between the two six and seven year-old samples, with a higher percentage for the white, but with no significant difference at the other age levels. With the white child no significant relationship was seen between age and acceptance of reciprocity. However, with the Indian child, significant differences were found between the ages 6-7 and 8-10, and 6-7 and 11-12. These latter findings agree with Piaget's contention that reciprocity increases as the young child emerges from a state of adult constraint. He seems to develop an "eye for an eye" attitude before he reaches the stage of cooperation.

Such a change of increasing reciprocity was not found with the white sample. Would socio-economic factors account for this difference? It might be assumed that children growing up in a typical white environment including both working and middle class homes are perhaps enjoying a greater amount of freedom to make their own decisions than the Indian children on a reserve. It would seem that the white environment is more conducive to an earlier development of cooperation and autonomy.

The findings obtained with the white sample agree with Dolores Durkin's (1959) research with white middle class American children where no increase in reciprocity was found as the child matured. Both these findings also agree with Harrower's (1934) study where she compared poor and well-to-do English children. The children from the more prosperous families tended to show relatively mature judgment, even at the younger ages, and the percentages for such evaluations remained fairly constant over the age range. Had the present study, however, been extended to older subjects, it is possible that a greater developmental change in reciprocity may have been noticeable with white children.

It is interesting to note that for both concepts of immanent and retributive justice the only significant difference found between Indian and white samples occurred at the lower age levels of six and seven. Without denying that socio-economic differences may account in part for this difference, it may be safe to postulate that cultural backgrounds may, to a greater degree, be responsible for the variations found at this earlier age. The young child of six, just emerging from a life almost strictly confined to his home and the influence of his family may well be said to act and think according to the values he has acquired in his home environment. As he matures and comes in contact with school comrades and teachers, his own personal values and

beliefs are more readily challenged by outside experiences which gradually leads to the development of broader views and to the acceptance or rejection of values seen in a new light from a changing frame of mind. Piaget states:

> The sense of justice, though naturally capable of being reinforced by the precepts and the practical example of the adult, is largely independent of these influences, and requires nothing more for its development than the mutual respect and solidarity which holds among children themselves. (Piaget, 1932, 196).

According to the findings of this study, as the Indian matures he appears to follow this general pattern of development set by Piaget. That is, he gradually progresses from a state of heteronomy to one of autonomy. This view is also in accordance with Kohlberg's (1963) theory concerning an early stage of heteronomy later transformed into a more mature stage of autonomy. Kohlberg, however, believes that there are many more developmental stages through which the child evolves until he judges conduct in terms of his own personal standards, in comparative independence of his immediate environment.

Roger Brown's (1965) statement that the child's sense of justice reflects his intelligence may also help to explain the fact that the differences between Indian and white were found at an age where the Indian child's intelligence had not yet encountered many favorable environmental and educational opportunities for as rapid a development as that

of the white middle class child.

To obtain a general idea of how students evaluate themselves as a group was also a concern of this study. Do students consider the members of their class as good, just and kind? Do they feel that their age group is living up to the standards which they consider proper and acceptable? Is the view they hold of themselves as a group in agreement with that of their teachers?

The study disclosed that both Indian and white students tended to have similar attitudes concerning their respective groups. Minority group members, as well as white, appeared to hold with respect the moral traits displayed by members of their own races as evidenced by their positive ratings. Although evaluations were favorable, findings showed that both samples tended to rate their age groups on a more rigid scale than did their teachers, being somewhat less tolerant of their own weaker tendencies. The white sample, especially, seemed to be aware of this fact as shown by its lowest ratings on intolerance, rigidity and severity. White students considered themselves strict but seemed to prize the advantage of being totally reliable. Indian students also pictured themselves as reliable although this proved to be their lowest rating according to the teachers.

As a whole, the rating scale evaluating moral traits gave evidence that the members of the two samples were inclined to judge themselves in the light of good and acceptable attitudes as seen by their culture. From the results it would seem that eleven and twelve year-old children are able to see others as they see themselves. They have some idea of why the other person thinks or acts the way he does. The influences of a child's peer group and of the moral atmosphere of his school undoubtedly are potent factors in his development of moral judgments.

The rating scale also revealed close similarity between Indian and white children's evaluations of moral traits, where perhaps a greater difference had been expected. One possible explanation might be that the environment in response to which the Indian's value system and pattern of behavior developed, is itself changing rapidly. The Indian is subject to the social influences in which he lives, and learns the way of life of the people around him. This process of socialization may also account for the fact that differences in immanent and retributive justice were non-significant, except at the lower ages of six and seven.

11 IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

The purpose of this study was to determine whether differences existed between the Indian and the white in

their moral judgments, as manifested particularly through their concepts of justice and their evaluations of members of their own age group.

According to the results of this study, moral judgments do not differ significantly between the two cultures except at the early school ages. However, it should be kept in mind that Indians, who have been in contact with non-Indians, could possibly bear a carry-over of their old cultural values and ideals although these may not be revealed outwardly. The Indian has been adapting his behavior and habits of thought to a changing environment. The understanding educator, sensitive to the feelings of the individual may possibly detect inner struggles in this process of adaptation. His help at such times could insure constructive and profitable adjustment. It seems important to realize that a set of values pertaining to one culture cannot be totally applied to another without some modification. The following statement appears to reinforce this idea.

> Indians are taught to depend upon their own judgment and not lean upon advice or correction from others. It is thus taken for granted, in Indian society, that a person knows what he is doing, even a child. These beliefs and practices are difficult to deal with in a classroom where the teacher, trained in another culture, expects to correct and guide his pupils, and where the feelings and wishes of a child are not taken into account if correction is called for (Greenberg and Greenberg 1964, 16).

In dealing with students of different cultural back-

grounds, greater benefit could perhaps be derived if emphasis were placed on what the teachers and the students have in common. Close membership of a human group can better set the pace for healthy moral development.

It seems that no argument can possibly arise about the need for order and justice in social situations, particularly in the classroom, where they are vitally necessary to the learning process as well as to the development of sound moral judgments. This study demonstrated that both Indian and white children appeared to hold similar concepts of justice, and to express a need for order and discipline found through just punishment. Both groups expressed the feeling that punishment was necessary in instances of non-conformity to acceptable standards of behavior. This would seem to imply that in the classroom the students expect the teacher to maintain a judicious balance between protective authority and delegation of responsibility. It seems that the students wish to sustain a sense of security and yet to induce growth in personal discipline.

The findings also indicated close similarity between the satisfactory ratings of teachers and students. The young adolescents readily accepted as favorable the moral traits exhibited by their age groups. Group standards are

strong in adolescence and this strength could possibly be utilized to greater advantage in the attainment of moral and educational ends.

It would seem that the helpful educator is one who can enable young people to think out and feel for themselves the possible consequences of diverse lines of actions, and to clarify these judgments on the basis of their consequences. Part of the function of the school is to provide graded practice in situations urging the child to behave responsibly. Pupils normally look to teachers for orders, perhaps not often enough for opportunities to exercise free initiative. There are many areas in the school where students could profit from the occasion to learn to make decisions, rather than having to comply to teacher decisions under penalty of negative sanctions.

Morality involves a sense of justice as well as individuality, being awake to responsibility and a willingness to make personal choices. If he is to act morally, the child must without doubt decide for himself, but he needs the support of thoughtful and understanding educators.

Suggestions for Further Research

This study was restricted to subjects in the age range from six to twelve years. Further research extended

to both Indian and white high school subjects would be valuable.

The subjects were asked to rate their age group according to a given list of moral traits. Novel treatment soliciting the subjects to present freely their viewpoints on what constitutes sound morality could provide additional useful information relative to moral values.

In this study, the child's concept of justice was examined mainly under the aspect of appropriate punishments for wrongdoings. Further research dealing with other aspects of justice, for example the student's evaluation of historical situations, would be profitable.

Perhaps the most valuable research needed, however, is longitudinal cross-cultural studies examining Indian and white subjects' developing moral judgments from early childhood to young adulthood.

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APPENDIX A

RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE

Student's Record Sheet

School attended _____ Age _____

Story	Expiatory Punishment	Punishment by Reciprocity
1	Not being allowed to go to the picnic	1. Having no meat for dinner 2. Not help him next time he needs help
2	Copying a poem fifty times	1. Being put to bed 2. No longer believe him
3	Having one's toys taken away	1. Having a cold room 2. Pay for the broken window
4	Having one's toys taken away	1. Give the little sister one of her own toys 2. Pay to have it mended.
5	Being spanked	1. Go to the woods and get a new plant 2. Have all his toys broken on purpose
6	Not being allowed to go to the show	1. Not take care of the girl's book 2. No longer look at the picture
7	Not give him any money for a month	1. Turn him out of the band 2. Write a letter to the police about him

IMMANENT JUSTICE

Student's Record Sheet

Age	Story 1	Story 11	Story 111
6			
7			
8			
9			
10			
11			
12			

School Attended _____

APPENDIX B

SUBJECTS' ANSWERS CONCERNING IMMANENT JUSTICE

Most Frequent Answers Indicating No Belief In Immanent Justice.

Story 1

1. He was running too fast.
2. He slipped.
3. He turned around to see if the policeman was following.
4. He lost his shoe.
5. His boot came off.
6. He was nervous.
7. The puddle was deeper than he thought.
8. The water was deep.

Story 11

1. She didn't know how to handle a knife.
2. She tried to cut it fast.
3. She was nervous.
4. She wanted too big a piece.
5. The knife slipped.
6. She wasn't careful.
7. She didn't watch out for her fingers.
8. The knife was too sharp.
9. She wasn't looking.

Story 111

1. The dog would have walked that way anyway.
2. It was a big dog and the boy was too little.
3. The dog was mean and chased anyone he met.
4. The big dog didn't like children.
5. The boy was a stranger.
6. It was a cross dog.
7. The dog was proud.
8. How could the dog know what the boy had done?
9. Dogs don't know what happens in the house.
10. Perhaps the dog just wanted to play but the little boy was afraid of him.

Most Frequent Answers Indicating Belief In Immanent Justice.

Story 1

1. He fell in the water because he stole the apples.
2. God punished him.
3. He fell because he wasn't caught by the police.
4. It was wrong to steal.
5. He just couldn't get away with it.

Story 11

1. She cut her finger because she disobeyed her mother.
2. It was a punishment.
3. She wasn't supposed to touch the cake.
4. She deserved it.

5. When you do something wrong you must be punished.
6. It served her right.
7. She had been a naughty girl, that's why she cut her finger.

Story 111

1. It was only fair.
2. It was because he played with the scissors.
3. God Told the dog.
4. The dog knew he had touched the scissors.
5. If you disobey, then something goes wrong.
6. The dog had to punish him because mother did not know about it.
7. Wrong actions deserve punishment.
8. If nothing happened it wouldn't be just.

APPENDIX C

TABLE X111

PERCENTAGES AND MEAN SCORES

OF IMMANENT JUSTICE RESPONSES

FROM INDIAN CHILDREN

Age	No. of Students	Mean Scores	Percentages
6	24	16	67
7-8	58	38	66
9-10	52	34	65
11-12	48	34	71

TABLE X1V

PERCENTAGES AND MEAN SCORES

FROM IMMANENT JUSTICE RESPONSES

FROM WHITE CHILDREN

Age	No. of Students	Mean Scores	Percentages
6	24	12	50
7-8	58	30.1	53
9-10	52	31.7	55
11-12	48	29.7	62

TABLE XV

PERCENTAGES AND MEAN SCORES

OF RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE RESPONSES

FROM INDIAN CHILDREN

Age	No. of Students	Mean Scores	Percentages
6-7	54	23.7	43
8-10	80	48	60
11-12	48	32.4	68

TABLE XVI

PERCENTAGES AND MEAN SCORES

OF RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE RESPONSES

FROM WHITE CHILDREN

Age	No. of Students	Mean Scores	Percentages
6-7	54	36	67
8-10	80	52.7	66
11-12	48	30	63

TABLE XV11

COLOURED PROGRESSIVE MATRICES

Total Scores and Frequencies

Indian Children

Total Scores	Frequency 6 yrs.	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.
36 - 32	0	1	3	2	4
31 - 27	2	7	6	7	5
26 - 22	6	9	11	12	10
21 - 17	11	9	6	5	7
16 - 12	5	4	2	0	0
Total N	24	30	28	26	26

TABLE XV111

COLOURED PROGRESSIVE MATRICES

Total Scores and Frequencies

White Children

Total Scores	Frequency 6 yrs.	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.
36 - 32	0	1	6	6	4
31 - 27	3	5	4	5	13
26 - 22	6	11	14	9	6
21 - 17	12	9	3	4	3
16 - 12	3	4	1	2	0
Total N	24	30	28	26	26

TABLE XIX

STANDARD PROGRESSIVE MATRICES

Total Scores and Frequencies

Total Score	Frequency			
	INDIAN		WHITE	
	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.
60 - 55	0	0	0	0
54 - 49	0	2	0	3
48 - 43	4	5	3	10
42 - 37	3	6	8	6
36 - 31	6	5	7	2
30 - 25	7	4	3	1
24 - 19	2	1	2	1
18 - 13	2	1	1	1
Total N	24	24	24	24

TABLE XX

MEDIAN SCORES FROM STUDENT RATING SCALE

Part 1

Items	White Students' Rating of Peers	Indian Students' Rating of Peers	Teachers' Rating of White Students	Teachers' Rating of Indian Students
1	5	6	6	6
2	5	5	6	5
3	5	5	6	5
4	5	5	6	5
5	5	5	6	6
6	6	6	6	5
7	6	6	6	6
8	3	6	5	7
9	4	6	6	6
10	5	5	6	6
11	5	5	5	7
12	7	7	6	4
13	6	6	6	6
14	6	6	6	6
15	6	6	5	5

TABLE XX1

MEDIAN SCORES FROM STUDENT RATING SCALE

Part 2

Items	White Students' Rating of Peers	Indian Students' Rating of Peers	Teachers' Rating of White Students	Teachers' Rating of Indian Students
16	6	5	6	6
17	3	4	6	5
18	3	4	5	7
19	4	4	5	5
20	4	4	5	5
21	3	5	5	7
22	5	6	6	5
23	5	5	5	5
24	5	4	6	4
25	5	6	6	6
26	4	5	5	5
27	4	7	5	7
28	6	6	6	6
29	6	6	6	6
30	6	6	6	6

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